

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

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### Monthly Summary.

**DOMESTIC.**—Our Monthly Summary for this month is unusually blank. The Kaffir, "Ned," to whose case reference was made in our last, was placed at the *Refuge for Strangers*, in the West-India Dock Road, under the kind care of Colonel Hughes. We have ascertained that "Ned" belongs to that branch of the Zooloo Kaffirs which rose against the sons of Panda, the Zooloo king, about three years ago, when the former were in open rebellion. The loyal Zooloos were defeated with great loss, and a general massacre ensued. Many thousands of the fugitives were driven across the frontier into the colony of Natal, and "Ned" took service with a merchant, reported to be of high character and standing in Petermauritzburg, the capital. He remained with him some length of time, as a servant, and then engaged himself to Mr. Handley, in a similar capacity. Mr. Handley brought him to England some time in the present year, residing at Blackburn, near Sheffield. "Ned" does not say why he ran away from Blackburn when he learnt that Mr. Handley was going back to Natal, but only that he wants to remain in England and work. He claims 11*l.* wages of Mr. Handley, which fact seems to set at rest the question of his considering himself a slave. From inquiries we have made, we are strongly inclined to believe that he never was so regarded, and it is only just to Mr. Handley to add,

that he is spoken of as a respectable trader. "Ned," however, was so impatient of restraint that he thrice quitted the *Home*; although he had been made to comprehend that friends were endeavouring to provide for him. He returned twice, and was remonstrated with on each occasion, but the last time he could not be discovered. At length, about ten days ago he was taken by the police, in a wood near Highgate, where he had concealed himself, after killing and roasting a sheep, and was brought up before the magistrate on a charge of sheep-stealing. We are in communication with the police authorities respecting him, and hope that steps will ultimately be taken to convey the poor fellow back to Natal, to be placed under the care of the Protector of Aborigines there. It is quite evident that he is too impatient of the restraints of civilized society to remain long in any home that might be provided for him in this country, while his inability to speak our language raises an additional obstacle to his obtaining employment. He has been sent back to prison to await his trial.

**AMERICA.**—The chief intelligence in the American newspapers during the past month has referred to the late outbreak at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, to which there is a detailed reference in another column. The trial of the prisoners has been pushed forward very rapidly. Indeed, as the case was clear against them, the trial was a mere formality. They have all been convicted, and sentenced to be hanged on the 10th of the present month, with the exception of Captain Brown, who was to be executed on the

2nd. It is said that Captain Brown's confession implicates F. Douglass, and Dr. Howe, of Boston. Gerrit Smith, the well-known philanthropist and abolitionist, who is also compromised, is reported to have become insane, and is now in the *New-York State Lunatic Asylum*.

Anthony Burns, of fugitive-slave notoriety, having been called to the pastorate of a coloured Baptist church in Indianapolis, the democrats threaten, if he comes, to enforce the infamous "black law" upon him.

Another item of intelligence is not without interest, as shewing the advance of public opinion in favour of a free press in the South. A few years ago, any attempt to exercise the right of free speech was certain to lead to violence. There are now ten Republican journals printed in the Slave States in English, and eight in German, besides others friendly to freedom in St. Louis, Western Virginia, Missouri, and Delaware.

**BRAZIL.**—A Deputy named Casimiro Maureira has brought under notice the position of the Brazilian Emancipados, that is, slaves captured since 1832, and delivered over to the authorities, on the express condition of their being set at liberty after seven years' apprenticeship. Their number was estimated at 27,000, besides some 800 who were brought in by Brazilian cruisers. These unfortunate persons have been divided amongst the various ministers and their friends, and have been regarded and treated as slaves up to this time. The object of M. Maureira's motion is to ascertain what number of these Emancipados are alive, and where they are. It is supposed that not five per cent. of them will be found to exist.

**WEST INDIES.**—Dr. Bowerbank is conducting an active crusade against the mal-administration of the Hospitals and Lunatic Asylum in Kingston, Jamaica. It is impossible to read his published letters, without feeling that the island government is seriously to blame.

The newspapers still continue their attacks upon the anti-slavery party in England. We are glad to record, that the *Jamaica County Union*, though it does not agree in the views we have expressed concerning immigration, has, with the *Watchman*, maintained the right of the anti-slavery party to be heard. We make this statement with the more pleasure, as we represented the *Watchman* as the only island journal which had not abused and vilified us. We received by last mail the first number of the *County Union* which has ever yet reached our office.

## ABOLITIONISTS IN KENTUCKY.

THERE appears to be no doubt that the feeling in favour of the abolition of Slavery is gaining ground in Kentucky, if an outspoken opinion in that State may be accepted as any proof of the fact. In promoting this healthier state of things, the editor of the *Free South*, W.S. Bailey—for whom a subscription is on foot in this country—has been most active. Our readers are probably aware that the Republicans are an increasing body of political abolitionists, who at the last Presidential election very nearly carried it in favour of Colonel Fremont. The Kentucky section have recently re-issued a declaration of their principles, which has been published in Mr. Bailey's paper, the *Free South*, at the office of which journal a meeting of the Republicans was held on Saturday evening, August 6th last, when new officers were chosen to serve six months, consisting of a President, three Vice-Presidents, Recording, Corresponding, and Assistant Secretaries, and Treasurer. The meeting re-adopted what is styled "the platform," with a slight amendment, and established a constitution for more effectual organization, which was signed by all the members.

The following sentiments were then offered by a member of the Association, as embodying those of the Free-State men of Kentucky, which, on motion, were adopted by the meeting.

### DECLARATION.

"We hold that Slavery is a great wrong, and an outrage at all times and everywhere. Its existence in Kentucky, or in any other Southern State, is as great a wrong as would be its introduction into Kansas, or any other free territory.

"We are opposed to the extension of Slavery into Free Territory, and to its continuance in the Slave States; and we hold that if Slavery is a sin against God in *Kansas*, it is equally sinful in the sight of God in *Kentucky*.

"We regard it as cowardly and hypocritical to oppose the introduction of Slavery into *Kansas*, and yet favour its continuance in *Kentucky*. The free white labourer or mechanic in *Kentucky* has as good a right to be shielded from the ruinous competition with slave-labour as has his brother labourer or mechanic in *Kansas*. Seven or eight hundred thousand free white non-slaveholders in *Kentucky* are as much entitled to the benefit of free institutions as are the one hundred thousand in *Kansas*; and the democracy of the United States that aids them not in securing these rights is a false democracy. One slaveholder has no moral or political right to impoverish, degrade, and oppress nineteen labouring men, that he may live at ease, enjoying abundance, while they toil; and the church or political party that upholds so great a wrong, is recreant to its duty to God and to mankind.

"Here upon slave soil do we labour for and demand the emancipation of *Kentucky* from the

blight of Slavery. We demand a free Kentucky first—a free Kansas, and a free world afterwards. We war upon Slavery, not as a possible Territorial institution, but as a real practical State institution. We feel its effects upon us at home more than elsewhere, and ask our Republican friends, and the lovers of freedom everywhere, to co-operate with and aid us in the warfare for liberty.

"We, the people of Kentucky, of the labouring and producing class, outnumbering the slaveholding non-producers nearly *twenty to one*, feel that we are as much entitled to protection from the oppression of Slavery as are the people of Kansas. We, as well as they, are entitled to the aid and sympathy of the free men of the North, for we are all *one people—one nationality*. Slavery has brought, and still threatens to bring, poverty, shame, and degradation upon us and our families, rendering the labouring voters powerless, without a name or influence in the State.

"Were it not for the *viva voce* system of voting, the invention of slaveholders to stifle the voice of the people, Kentucky would rise up like a young giant, and free herself at a single bound from her shackles. But those in power dare not give us this privilege of expressing our heartfelt sentiments, lest their 'peculiar institution' fall. We repudiate that democracy which regards and supports the interest of one-twentieth part of her people, the *wealthy few*, and utterly ignores and disregards the interest of the mass, who labour and produce. Nor can we fellowship that sort of Republicanism which expends all its sympathy for a few thousand emigrants to Kansas, and has none to spare for the hundreds of thousands of oppressed non-slaveholding residents in Kentucky and other slave States. Yet to those who have aided the free press of Kentucky, and sympathized with its struggle for our freedom, we return our most sincere thanks, and shall cherish a lifelong gratitude for their humanity towards us.

"Our motto is, NO SLAVE STATES—NO SLAVE TERRITORY—No systems that rear up men in illiteracy, that lead them to poverty and degradation."

#### LABOUR IN THE WEST INDIES.

The subjoined leader, from the *Leeds Mercury* of the 19th ultimo, will shew that we do not hold singular views on the subject of labour in the West Indies. It calls attention to a remarkable letter addressed to the editor, signed by the son of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, which we append to the leader, as a spontaneous and unexpected article, and a most valuable testimony to the correctness of the views we have so often expressed.

(From the *Leeds Mercury*, Nov. 19.)

"It is very important that the people of England should have correct views on the subject of immigration to our West-India colonies, because it is only by the action of public opinion on the Home Government and on Parliament

that that mode of supplying labour to the sugar plantations can be kept within proper limits, or conducted on principles wholly unobjectionable. In considering any proposition for importing labour into a colony or a country, two questions naturally arise: First, Is the supply on the spot inadequate to the real wants of employers? and, second, Who should bear the cost of meeting the deficiency? Now, in the West Indies both these questions have been unfairly dealt with. It has been assumed, without proof, that the amount of native labour is insufficient; and the Colonial Legislatures, composed of employers of labour, and of individuals largely dependent upon them, have sought to supply the deficiency by passing Immigration Acts, to be worked out in part or wholly at the public expense; that is, by increasing the taxation of the entire community. Too many of these measures have received the sanction of the Crown or the English Parliament on the strength of the fact that the amount of sugar grown in the colonies seriously declined soon after negro emancipation, and in faith of the planters' reiterated assertion that this decline originated in the unwillingness of the negroes to work, which led inevitably to a scarcity of labour on the sugar estates. Hence the cry for immigration, and hence the half-favour which has been extended by our rulers to West-India schemes of immigration.

"It is worthy of notice that the outcry for more immigrants has been kept up, notwithstanding that nearly all the colonies have been gradually 'righting themselves' so far as the production of sugar and other tropical articles of commerce are concerned, and that most of them are at this moment in a healthier social and productive condition than in any past period of their history. There is one exception to this marked and indisputable improvement in Jamaica, which, as the largest, most populous, and most influential of the islands, is too often regarded as representative rather than exceptional. But a letter which appears in our impression to-day, from a gentleman of the highest character, Mr. Ernest Noel, who has lately visited Jamaica, and inquired diligently and disinterestedly into its social condition, throws much light on the subject. His letter well deserves perusal, both from the obvious care of its author to avoid exaggeration or error, and from the clearness with which his facts are put; and it proves that the want of immigration has literally had nothing to do with the comparatively depressed condition of Jamaica, and traces that condition to its true causes. This communication confirms to the full all that we have previously written on the subject, and which was founded either on the contents of Blue Books or the testimony of gentlemen long resident on that splendid but sadly mismanaged and misgoverned



island. We shall not go over the ground occupied by our correspondent, but we invite all interested in the great question of *Free v. Slave-labour* to study his facts, and draw their own conclusions. It will give us much pleasure to publish the further communications which Mr. Noel promises. We now merely add, that if the real causes of the continued impoverishment of Jamaica are not admitted and resolutely dealt with by the Colonial Legislature, reliance upon extended immigration will only postpone the time when that island may be as prosperous socially and commercially, as it is lavishly endowed with natural advantages.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE "LEEDS MERCURY."

GENTLEMEN—The subject of free-labour in our West-India colonies has lately received considerable attention, and as there appears to be some misapprehension in many quarters as to the real state both of the negroes and the plantations, I venture to lay before the public a few facts.

"It is commonly asserted that free negroes will not work; that the price of sugar will not repay the cost of production in most of our West-India colonies; and that free-labour cannot compete with slave-labour in these possessions without a large immigration from India or China.

"I propose to consider these three statements as regards Jamaica, which, being the largest, and at the same time least flourishing of the West-India islands, deserves our attentive consideration.

"During a visit to Jamaica last autumn, I sought with great care for the causes which have reduced this fine island to its present condition; and although I do not pretend to have discovered all, and indeed should hardly feel at liberty to mention some of the defects of government which may have tended to lessen its prosperity, yet I think a sufficient number can be shewn to explain the melancholy position of its proprietors, and to remove the idea that the emancipation of the slaves has been the one fertile source of all its disasters.

"We will first investigate the charge that the free negroes will not work. It might be said, as a writer in the *Times* has suggested, that this would be nothing very strange, for where the inducements to a life of ease and idleness are so great, and the requirements of nature so easily supplied, it would be natural that a half-civilized population should decline the labours of the sugar-field. But natural as this might have been, it is not the fact. It may fairly be said that the negro has not the energy of the European, but it is far from true that he is the idle, indolent being some would have led us to believe. Abundant proof can be afforded of this. I would point at once to several thriving plantations in Jamaica as a convincing refutation. How is it, then, so many estates which, under Slavery, were sending handsome returns to their proprietors in England, are now uncultivated, the owners perhaps ruined, and the population

gone? It may be summed up in a few words, by saying that absenteeism, heavy mortgages, want of capital, bad management, unjust treatment of labourers, unpunctuality in paying wages, immoral conduct of overseers, want of cottages, and want of labour, have each contributed to bring the island into its present condition.

"The subject of absenteeism has been so thoroughly discussed in relation to Ireland, that it is needless to say more, than that its injurious effects are as plainly marked and as deeply felt in the West Indies as in our sister island.

"Some estates have been abandoned—and I could name several—owing to the proprietor receiving nothing from his profits, the whole profits being swallowed up by a heavy mortgage, and the mortgagee not being willing to invest more money or carry on the cultivation from 'want of labour.' Others were worked entirely by borrowed capital, paying high rates of interest: a single failure in the sugar crop would almost hopelessly involve the estate in debt.

"Many more have been ruined by gross mismanagement. Expensive machinery has been sent out from England, in some cases totally unfit for the purpose to which it was to be applied; in others, the local managers were ignorant of its use, or refused to adopt what they considered worthless innovations. Such properties, bringing in but small and uncertain returns to their owners, have been in several cases abandoned.

"On some estates there has been a real want of labour, but this in no way arising from either a want of population or the idleness of the negroes, but produced by the unjust and cruel treatment of the overseers, either during the time of apprenticeship or in the years immediately succeeding. This is a most important fact, and as most of the agents who were then employed have since died, and the properties have very generally changed hands, it is now forgotten, and nothing is thought of but the present melancholy result, that the fields are untilled, the population departed, and what was once a scene of busy life is now sinking back into an unpeopled wilderness. During the 'apprenticeship' not a few of the unprincipled managers of property, provoked and irritated at the thought that those whom they had so long regarded as mere property—cattle to do their work—were soon to be as free as themselves, instead of relaxing the treatment of their partially-emancipated slaves, shewed the most brutal severity, and felt towards their wretched victims, what one of them had the courage to express. When a miserable Christian negro, by the order of a Christian magistrate, was about to receive fifty lashes, he exclaimed, 'I have got you for two years yet, and your life shall not be worth a farthing by that time.' Can it be wondered at that slaves thus used, having at length acquired their freedom, should refuse any longer to work for such masters? It is an ungrateful task to recal such scenes, but they must be remembered, or we shall not fairly estimate the causes which have contributed to the ruin of so many unfortunate holders of West-India property. Another evident cause which led to this want of labour was the unwillingness of the masters at

first to pay regularly and justly the wages due to their now free-labourers.

"On one property in Hanover, no negro received any payment in money for ten months, when a general defection took place; the labourers, refusing any longer to work for the benefit of others, sought employment for themselves on land easily to be obtained among the hills.

"On another property, in St. James', six weeks and two months often elapsed without the payment of wages; and at the time of settlement, the negro's knowledge of arithmetic being extremely limited, he constantly thought himself defrauded of his due, which produced such discontent, that, whole families emigrating to the hills, the property had to be thrown out of cultivation for 'want of labour.' Nor are these isolated cases.

"On other properties, where a similar complaint of 'want of labour' was adduced as the cause of their present abandoned condition, I found that an attempt had been made to *corree* the people, by mixing up rent and wages, charging arbitrary and exorbitant rents for cottages, if any in the family refused to work.

"In conversation with some exceedingly intelligent negroes, I was informed that the gross immoralities of the overseers and bookkeepers prevented many negroes, who had become Christians, from permitting their children to work on such estates, saying it was better they should be somewhat poorer in circumstances than degraded and corrupted, ruined for this life and the next.

"The want of suitable cottages near the cane-fields have in some places aided in diminishing the available labour, as the negroes refused to walk five or six miles to their work.

"The length of this letter precludes my entering on the other branches of this subject, as I have already trespassed too long on your valuable space; but I hope to be permitted at some future time to continue this investigation.

"I remain, &c.

"Nov. 16, 1859."

"ERNEST NOEL.

### THE TIMES ON THE WEST-INDIA LABOUR QUESTION.

IN our last, we made a reference to a leader in the *Times* of the 20th October, upon the paper Mr. Cave, M.P., had read at the *Social Science Meeting* at Bradford. We place it upon record, with a view to enable our readers to refer to it at any future time, and also that they may have the opportunity of judging of the line of argument this mischievous newspaper is in the habit of adopting. While the tone of the article in question is extremely moderate, as compared with previous effusions on the same subject, the opportunity is not lost of bringing against the emancipated classes those charges of indolence which have so often been refuted, and charging emancipation with the responsibility of those failures which are chargeable to the planters themselves, and to no one else. The object of the

*Times* is to endeavour] to shew that the *West-India Labour Question* has been settled by the permission Government has given for the introduction of immigrant labour. It is entering upon a new line of policy. It pretends to believe that the anti-slavery party of the *West-India Body* have come to an understanding, but while preaching moderation and declaring Slavery to be "a crime," it supports the system, upon economic grounds, and strengthens the hands of slaveholders by placing the unsound and untrue theory that slave-labour is cheaper than free-labour above the true and righteous principle that Slavery being a sin and a crime ought therefore to be abolished, wherever it exists, and whatever its alleged advantage. We do not consider it worth while to discuss, in these columns, the other portions of this insidious article, as we hope to do so more fully in our forthcoming pamphlet on the *West-India Labour Question*.

The following is the article referred to :

"All feuds come to an end with time. The Sovereigns of the House of Hanover listen with equanimity to Jacobite melodies; Orangeman and Papist live in tolerable harmony in Ireland; and even the French Legitimists of the new generation are relaxing in their creed. So it need not surprise us that West-India planters and their old enemies, the English Abolitionists, are beginning to have a good word for each other. More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the great battle was brought to a close, and the victory won which liberated the African race in the British colonies. The contest had been long and stubborn, and the combatants had been excited to the use of every weapon which could aid them. Sixty years before the first Reformed Parliament passed the Negro Emancipation Bill the judgment of an English court of law had set at liberty every slave who had trodden the soil of these islands. From that time the efforts of philanthropy were unceasing, and religion came to its aid. The Evangelical school of the last generation, with Wilberforce, Simeon, and other earnest men at its head, were mainly busied about the wrongs of the Negro. They were ridiculed, abused, and threatened, but still they persevered, and towards the close of their career they saw victory in the distance. At the beginning of the present century they were only able to abolish the slave-trade because the planters cared little for the introduction of any more Africans; but after the peace their cause prospered so much, they had such dominion over the religious world, they numbered so many influential and popular writers among their adherents, they derived such strength from their alliance with the hopeful and enthusiastic liberalism of the day, that they were able to give up all conciliation of the planters, and carry on with a high hand the war against slaveholding. During the last years of the crusade the owners of negroes were probably the best-abused race in the world. Every vice was attributed to them, and no set of "Moral Tales" was complete without a

Jamaica planter—a compound of avarice, sensuality, cruelty, and cowardice.

"Then came Emancipation, and with it the collapse of West-India enterprise. In the less densely-populated islands the newly-enfranchised slaves left their work to 'squat' on waste grounds, where they could indulge in idleness, which, like all barbarous races, they preferred to the enjoyment of comfort. Sugar became more expensive to produce, while it was every day becoming cheaper in the English market. Ruin seemed to stare every planter in the face, and he inveighed with natural bitterness on the philanthropists who had destroyed his prosperity to gratify their own crotchets. The planter represented, with some shew of truth, that the negroes were not better off than before emancipation; that their subjection to the whites, if it had not given them instruction, had yet afforded the opportunity of imbibing the first lessons of civilization, and that these were being rapidly forgotten by the savages who were basking in idleness under the sun wherever they could find a piece of waste ground. Then there were the sneers of the Americans, who, impelled by fear of their own abolitionists, were anxious to prove the folly of England's policy, and took every opportunity of contrasting the productiveness of Georgia, Louisiana, or Cuba, with the ruin of Jamaica. On the other hand, the English abolitionists were in no good humour. They could not conceal from themselves that the negroes were very lazy and sensual; that their economical prophecies about increased production and the superiority of free-labour had been falsified; and that a hardworking and patriotic race of colonists had been made to suffer grievously for a more than doubtful advantage to their labourers. These convictions acted upon the philanthropic party in the usual manner, namely, they made it peevish and disputatious. No productions shew weaker arguments and greater impatience than the speeches of the Abolitionists for some years after Emancipation, and for a good reason,—because they had to defend the immediate results of the measure, and to shew that, as they had predicted, the colonies were prosperous, and the negroes morally improved.

"But a quarter of a century is a long time even in the life of a nation. The men who confronted each other in the great quarrel have passed away, and their children may deal with the question they argued without acrimony or ill-temper. A paper read by Mr. Stephen Cave, M.P., before the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, seems to us to treat the matter in a spirit worthy of the present generation. We need not repeat his statements and reasoning, for which we refer our readers to the paper itself, but we may take the opportunity of recurring to this important subject, which in these days of war and political anxiety is seldom mentioned, but which is full of moment for the future of the human race.

"What has been the result of the experiment tried in 1833? It may be answered, in the first place, that it has succeeded in converting every man, woman, or child in these islands to the condemnation of Slavery as a system. When

there were slaves in the West Indies there were partisans of Slavery, and religion, natural or revealed, was pressed into the service of the cause. But now no one quotes either the classics or the Bible to prove that a man may do what he likes with his own purchased slave. So much has been gained, and we may say without boasting, that from England the conviction that Slavery is a crime has passed to the Continent, and has induced France and one or two of the minor states of Europe to emancipate their African bondmen. This, then, would be a great gain, but it is not all. The West-India islands have sunk in relative importance to the mother country, and are now little thought of. This arises not so much from their decay as from the growth of a stupendous empire which claims the attention of the home Government. Since the days when a Jamaica planter was the type of wealth and extravagance, the great colonies of Canada and Australia may be said to have come into existence, India has been fully conquered, and the United States—a commercial if not a political province of England—has sprung up to the height of power and prosperity. So people care little about the communities which were the subject of so much wrangling thirty years ago. But those acquainted with the islands are aware of the great improvement in manners and education both among whites and coloured people. Though Negroes may not be yet all that they ought to be, yet there is a vast difference between their present moral condition and that of their fathers and mothers, who lived in promiscuous intercourse; while, as to their intellectual attainments, it must be remembered that reading and writing were wholly unknown among them before the emancipation. At present, through the exertions of the English Church and the sect of Methodists, instruction has become very general among the coloured children: in the more prosperous islands they receive an excellent education, and are taught side by side with the whites in the parish schools. The morality of the whites has been improved by taking from them an excessive power over their own species, and it may be said with truth, that however rich the old race of colonists may have been, civilization, as it is understood in England, only commenced with the emancipation of the slaves.

"But economically the results are more doubtful. We are not inclined to lay every thing on emancipation. There is no doubt that the extension of sugar-growing over the American continent would have brought down prices even if Slavery had continued. Cuba is a vast island, Louisiana and Texas have boundless acres, a single district of Brazil would hold the British islands ten times over. What, then, is to be expected when enterprise brings all these immense tracts into cultivation? But, allowing for this, there still remains sufficient evidence that free-labour is not so advantageous as Slavery to the owner of property. As Mr. Cave observes, under Slavery the master has his own profits and the slave's too; so that where the legislators are owners, the abolition of Slavery is not likely to come for a long time. What we see around us confirms this theory. No doubt that Slavery in the United States has extended, is



extending, and will extend. It is remunerative, and as long as it is so there is not the smallest chance for the Abolitionists. Mr. Cave, with all his experience, only bids us trust in the justice of our cause, and hope that a time will come when conscience will be seconded by interest. That this period may soon arrive must be the earnest prayer of every Christian and philanthropist."

#### ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

**ANOTHER STEP OF SLAVERY.**—The following notice to all whom it may concern, appears in the editorial columns of the New Orleans *Picayune* of Sunday, August 21:

"The law enacted last winter by the Legislature of Louisiana, placing all free negroes under the most rigid surveillance, who may arrive in this State on shipboard or steamboats, goes into effect the first of September next.

"All free persons of colour, arriving in port from abroad, must immediately be lodged in jail, and remain there until the departure of the boat or vessel on which they came; masters of steamboats and ships must report to the Chief of Police all such persons belonging to their crews, or passengers, or incur severe penalties.

"It will be well for all masters of vessels and steamboats trading with this State, to bear in mind the provisions of law, as it will save them much trouble, and perhaps pecuniary loss. The evils attending the increase of a free negro population, and more particularly the intercourse of free persons of colour from abroad with our slaves, caused the passage of this stringent law."

**AN ENTERPRISING COLOURED MAN.**—The editor of the *Hornellsville* (N. Y.) *Journal* has seen a letter from Mr. J. Bennett, a coloured barber of that village, who left some weeks since for the coast of Africa, where he intended to engage in farming. The letter is from Liverpool, and states that he had purchased ten cotton gins, and ten bushels of cotton seeds, and intended to sail the next day with his goods, on board the steamship *Ethiopia*, for Lagos, on the west coast of Africa. Mr. Bennett states that there are now eighteen English stores at Lagos, and the surrounding country is pronounced the best cotton field in the world, and specimens of cotton raised there, lately received in Liverpool, had brought the highest prices of any in the market. Mr. Bennett intends to devote his attention to cotton-growing.

**PRICES OF SLAVES IN RICHMOND.**—In response to many inquiries made from persons at a distance as to the prices slaves are commanding in this market, we publish the annexed statement, furnished by reliable authority: No. 1 men, 20 to 26 years old, from 1450 to 1500 dols.; best grown girls, 17 to 20 years old, from 1275 to 1325 dols.; girls from 15 to 17 years old, 1150 to 1250 dols.; girls from 12 to 15 years old, 1000 to 1100 dols.; best plough-boys, 17 to 20 years old, 1350 to 1425 dols.; boys from 15 to 17 years old, 1250 to 1375 dols.; boys from 12 to 15 years old, 1100 to 1200 dols. Likely families, and also boys and girls, command high prices, as there are several gentlemen in the market who are purchasing for their own plantations in the South.—*Richmond Dispatch*, July 26th.

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1859.

### INSURRECTION AT HARPER'S FERRY.

THE most important item of intelligence which has reached this country from America, since our last issue, has been that of an attempt to cause a rising of the slaves, at Harper's Ferry, on the borders of Maryland and Virginia. The leader of this outbreak is named Captain John Brown, formerly of Kansas, who is thus described by a correspondent of the *Times*.

"Brown, commonly known in the United States as 'Old Captain Brown,' is a man who suffered cruelly in the commencement of the Kansas troubles, about five years ago. To the best of my recollection, before he had taken any part in the contest then commencing between the partisans of 'free-soil' and of Slavery in Kansas, his house was entered at night by a party of the border ruffians from Missouri, who plundered and carried off what was most valuable of the snug property that he had acquired by a long course of humble industry, set fire to the buildings and crops, and deliberately murdered one or two of his children. His wife soon after died, brokenhearted. Brown himself became, as has been represented to me by his friends and neighbours, a cool, careful, unnaturally sagacious, patient, and desperately courageous monomaniac. He gathered about him a small band, seldom numbering more than a score, composed mainly of New Englanders, whom events had changed from the most peace-loving, if not pusillanimous, quiet, plodding farmers and mechanics to desperadoes. Among them were two of his own sons. Times and again this band had penetrated far into the interior of Missouri, and liberated men from jail who had been apprehended on a charge of assisting slaves to escape, or some other trumped-up allegation, which was likely to have cost them their lives at the hands of Judge Lynch, at the same time bringing back with them and setting free whole families of slaves, and otherwise despoiling the property, and sometimes taking the lives of men who had been prominent in the attempt to force Slavery upon the people of Kansas by the terror of civil war. When this attempt was relinquished, and peaceable arrangements had been effected, Brown again became a farmer, and apparently a quiet citizen. Soon, however, a party of Missourians, in pursuit of a runaway negro, under the pretence of searching for their property, entered the houses of citizens of Kansas without legal authority, and, when resisted, committed outrages. The Missourians were not long returned to their homes when Old Brown was among them with his sons, burning houses, destroying crops, and carrying off negroes and horses. A reward was offered for his head; he was pursued by a large company; and the last I recollect hearing of him he had, after having been surrounded by his

pursuers, charged through them, and, escaping with all his party, turned upon them at night to their sore discomfiture."

From the admissions of Captain Brown, it is established that his object was to provoke a general rising of the slaves throughout Maryland and Virginia; and there is evidence, though not of the clearest, that Gerrit Smith, F. Douglass, and other Northern Abolitionists, were privy to the plot, the first-named gentleman being reported as having forwarded funds to promote its success. Captain Brown's measures having been taken, on Sunday, the 17th of October last, at half past ten at night, he proceeded to carry them out, and at once secured the armoury, making the sentinels prisoners. His whole force at this moment does not seem to have exceeded seventeen persons, including his two sons. A partial success obtained by him in the capture of a neighbouring slaveholder and the carrying off of his slaves, augmented his strength to fifty, including the slaves who had joined him, and finally to some 500 or 600. The insurrectionists then began to fortify their position in the arsenal, and had the town completely in their power. In the course of the night, however, and of the following day, assistance came from Charleston and other places, and a conflict ensued, in the course of which many lives were sacrificed, including Captain Brown's son, who was shot dead, the old man being himself severely wounded. At seven in the evening the insurrectionists surrendered, after a fierce struggle, and were conveyed to prison. Their trial has since taken place, and they have been condemned to be hanged. The 2d of the present month was the day fixed for the execution of Captain Brown, who appears only to regret that the attempt failed. We have not room in our present Number for more than this brief summary of an affair which has caused more excitement in the United States than any event that has occurred for many years. We hope to place a complete account of it on record; for though the attempted insurrection has proved unsuccessful, it is too striking an illustration of the dangers to which Slavery leads not to form a memorable incident in the history of that institution.

Captain Brown will have many sympathizers, especially amongst those who justify the employment of arms in defence or in assertion of a right. We believe there are even very few amongst those who take the opposite view, who will not most heartily commiserate him, while they disapprove of his rash attempt. The *Friends' Review* of the 29th of October last makes the following appropriate comments upon it:

"Without taking into view the immorality of the proceeding, the prospect of success was so utterly hopeless as to induce the belief that the

principal actors must have been labouring under a species of insanity, or the blindest fanaticism. Nothing short of this could lead them to expect the aid necessary to accomplish their purpose from the white people of the North or South. But when we consider that the means adopted as a remedy for the great evil of Slavery were equally inconsistent with Christianity, and totally indefensible on religious principles, we must profoundly deplore the occurrence. That politicians will use it for selfish and corrupt purposes cannot be doubted; and its almost inevitable effect upon the minds of slaveholders can scarcely fail to be adverse to the pleadings of their conscience and the prayers of those who seek in a truly Christian spirit to break every yoke, proclaim liberty to the captive, and let the oppressed go free."

#### REV. DR. CHEEVER AND SLAVERY.

We have referred, in previous Numbers, to the position in which the Rev. Dr. Cheever of New York has been placed, in consequence of his bold denunciations of slaveholding as a sin. Many of our friends are perhaps scarcely aware of the persecution which an abolitionist minister of the Gospel in the United States is compelled to endure. We reprint, from the *North British Advertiser* of the 29th October ult., a letter which the Rev. Dr. Cheever has addressed to the Rev. Dr. Candlish, and which sets forth, at considerable length, the difficulties of the former in attempting to maintain himself and his church, in the face of the opposition leagued against them. We reproduce the article entire, from the columns of the journal already named.

#### "MEETING IN EDINBURGH.

"Edinburgh, 17th Oct., 1859.

"At a meeting called to consider the position of the Rev. Dr. Cheever, of New York, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, upon the report of a Committee named at a previous preliminary meeting, held on the 7th October:

"I. That, without entering into the ecclesiastical bearings of this case, there is evidence enough to shew that Dr. Cheever has been, and is, bearing a faithful testimony against the sin of American Slavery; and that he is, on that account, involved in serious financial difficulties, which not only materially affect his personal comfort, but endanger his public standing and influence as the minister of one of the most important congregations in New York.

"II. That the fact that such a man as Dr. Cheever is thus situated, and for such a cause, is fitted to awaken grief and alarm in the minds of all friends of liberty, indicating, as it seems too plainly to do, the prevalence, even in the Free States of America and throughout the religious community there, of views on the subject of Slavery, and the duty of Christian churches and Christian men in regard to it, that are in oppo-



sition to the spirit of the Gospel, and tend to palliate and perpetuate a system which every right-thinking man must desire to see speedily and thoroughly abolished.

"III. That the present appeal on behalf of Dr. Cheever affords a seasonable opportunity for bearing an emphatic practical testimony against American Slavery, as well as for expressing sympathy with those who, on Christian grounds, denounce it, and suffer loss for doing so; and that it ought therefore to be promptly and liberally met.

"IV. That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee to take measures for raising money by collections and private contributions, and to correspond with Committees in other towns throughout the kingdom, and to adopt such other steps as to them may seem necessary:

"Rev. Dr. CANDLISH.

"Dr. W. L. ALEXANDER,

"Dr. GLOVER.

"WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

"JAS. ROBERTSON, Newington.

"Dr. ANDREW THOMSON.

"G. D. CULLEN.

"Dr. GUTHRIE.

"JONATHAN WATSON.

"Dr. BEGG.

General ANDERSON.

JOHN MILLAR, Esq.

"J. BURN MURDOCH, jun., 8, Manor Place, Seco.

H. D. DICKIE, 19 George Street, Treasurer.

"By whom, as well as by Members of Committee, subscriptions will be received."

"LETTER FROM DR. CHEEVER.

"21, East 15th Street, New York,

September 1st, 1859.

"MY DEAR SIR—On my return to the city I find letters from England, making inquiries with regard to Miss Johnstone, a member of my church, now endeavouring to procure some aid for us in the conflict in which we are engaged against Slavery and the slave-power in this country. A number of individuals have been suggested, by Dr. Guthrie and others, as important to be addressed, and put in possession of the facts in regard to this appeal; but as I am compelled immediately to leave the city again for a little season, and am overwhelmed with engagements, it is quite impossible, at present, to meet these suggestions. I have therefore taken the liberty of sending you a copy, in part, of a letter written to a person in England, in reply to inquiries on this subject. I do this in order that, whether any material aid through Miss Johnstone's efforts should have been gained or not, it may be seen and known that her appeal is authentic, and that some of the grounds may be made manifest on which such an effort on our behalf has become necessary. In answer to an individual making inquiries from England, I have written as follows:

"Your inquiries as to Miss Johnstone's efforts for our church, and the necessity of it, are na-

tural and just. We did not anticipate nor intend the publicity rather unexpectedly given to her mission. From the very urgency of the case, and the greatness of our danger, being not only surrounded by enemies without, but beset by foes within, we could not ourselves take any church action concerning this appeal; but a few of us, convinced that we must have aid from some quarter, or be conquered, consented that Miss Johnstone should make what effort she could in Great Britain, and gave her our authentication. At the same time we made every effort for aid from friends here outside our own church, and, by God's blessing, met with such success that we were carried safely through the financial year, and entered on the necessary arrangements for another. By the entire dismissal of the disaffected party in our church, we are now stronger in the spirit and strength of harmony and unity, but much weakened in pecuniary ability; so that the same appeal for aid must be renewed, and efficient aid must be given, in order that we may be enabled to maintain this citadel of Christ's free Gospel amidst such continued and strenuous efforts for our defeat. I assure you that we do greatly need whatever aid we can get. If it please God to keep us we shall be kept, and He will provide the way, whether through friends here or abroad. But the conflict is terrible; and the array of prejudice, fashion, wealth, power, anger, wrath, and malice against us, with the weight of all the Christian Conservatism of the country denouncing our course, and slandering us as Robespierres and fanatics, render it next to impossible for us to increase in numbers or ability, for men will not join us, except it be here and there a true-hearted Abolitionist whom God sends. God has stirred up some such, and brought them from other churches to ours; and this one thing has been our preservation, for without such aid we must have gone down; but at present no new friends come to our support, while yet the battle waxes hotter and more desperate. The timid begin to declare that we must give up all idea of sustaining ourselves; that it is useless to attempt doing any thing longer; that it is manifest that preaching against the sin of Slavery is so horribly unpopular that if any man or church undertake it, they cannot be supported but must fail; that we had better give up while we may do so with some dignity, and not be starved out. This cowardice is most injurious to our cause. We can depend only on a very few. Mean time there is greater need than ever of just such sermons against Slavery as I have been preaching, only a thousand times more able and energetic; and to give up my pulpit now would be disastrous in the extreme to the cause of Christian Abolitionism. It would put an end to any freedom of the pulpit and of God's Word against this gigantic sin. But our expenses are so heavy, in consequence of our heavy ground-rent, in addition to all the ordinary charges of a prominent church in this city, that we cannot of ourselves meet them, and my course in proclaiming God's Word so freely and fully against Slavery and slaveholding, as the sin of man-stealing, set by God in the same category with the guilt of murder, is so unpopular, arrays all the Christian expediency of all the churches against us with so much bitterness, that it would

be quite impossible to make an appeal for aid with any hope of success, even to the churches of our own denomination. Too many of them heartily desire our downfall, and, I suppose, expect year after year to see it. That we have been sustained as we have is a wonder, and to maintain the miracle, if it please God to maintain it, we must have pecuniary aid. My church will keep united, and will rally around me in defence of my preaching against Slavery, only while the few who do not intend to relinquish the struggle are enabled to provide the ways and means of meeting our deficiencies. While we can do that, we can, with a tolerable degree of confidence, rely on a good majority in our favour, and can keep the church; but the moment we are swamped in money matters, that moment we are overthrown. While God gives me health, grace, and strength, and continues the opportunity, I mean to reiterate my efforts with the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. I am endeavouring to reach the conscience of the church and the ministry with regard to this sin, and to rouse up both to united action against it. If it please God that His Word shall once be fully and freely proclaimed against it, it cannot stand. If He add His Spirit, and really set His church on fire against the iniquity of making merchandise of men, then we shall see a greater moral and spiritual triumph than the world has ever witnessed since the first age of the Gospel. The manifest abolition of this gigantic and infernal sin by the Word and Spirit of God, even after it has been enthroned as the supreme law and policy of our nation, the dictate of our justice, the fruit of our religion, would be so glorious a conquest, so full of praise to God, and of shame to wicked men, and unbelievers, and scoffers, that it is to be infinitely desired, and ceaselessly laboured after: and though sometimes we are almost in despair, yet, when we remember that the Word of God has really not been tried in this conflict, but excluded from it, muzzled, suffocated, buried in silence, or perverted into sanction of the sin, so that its omnipotence is a power yet in reserve, we cannot but hope that God intends this mighty and glorious demonstration; and that when we are driven more despairingly to Him, and it is perfectly manifest that neither politics, nor statistics, nor theories of free-soil or free-labour, even the profit of freedom, nor any political party, nor any demonstration of science or philanthropy, can save us, then He will set some souls on fire, and let loose the thunderings and lightnings of His Word, as in the first great Reformation, with such overwhelming majesty that nothing can stand against it. I am a very poor hand to make a beginning, a poor miserable vessel for such fire, and yet I am constrained into it, and cannot draw back: and as there must be a beginning in some quarter, or there can be no conflagration, nor canonading at all, it may as well begin in our church and in my ministry as anywhere else, if God pleases; and it is a solemn fact, that almost nowhere else is the Word of God proclaimed, freely, fully, persistently, on the Sabbath, against this sin. A paragraph is sometimes let off against it, or a sermon on a fast-day, &c., and if this is not followed by disturbance and wrath, thenceforward, on the score of that solitary de-

monstration, the minister and the church profess to be sufficiently anti-slavery, and unite in opposing any church or minister that will go much further. There is no purpose whatever for the abolition of the sin. Indeed, the very men who boast of being anti-slavery are opposed to abolitionism, and denounce the Abolitionists; so that really, in some respects, things are in about as bad a state as they can be, and in many quarters the most diabolical pro-slavery spirit is conjoined with the highest profession of piety and orthodoxy. It is a perfectly wonderful thing that a real, thorough, abolition, orthodox church, such as mine to a good degree is, can have been trained and supported so long in the heart of a city such as New York, so large a portion both of the ecclesiastical and mercantile community being in league with slaveholders for the protection of their sin. Mean time, we get no aid from the visitors who come to us from abroad, from your own country or elsewhere, for they are always persuaded into a most politic silence; and having generally some object to accomplish, they desire to keep on the best terms with all parties, and, on the whole, are generally persuaded into the impression that the Abolitionists are a very injudicious and fanatical set of men, and that the sin of Slavery has more to be said in apology on its behalf than abolitionists are willing to admit. They cannot think that so many good men as they meet with in connection with this sin can be wholly mistaken, or wholly guilty in sanctioning it in some degree for a time. Thus their influence is with the slave-power, not against it, and they themselves, especially after travelling South, lose their horror of the cruelty and the crime, and begin to think there is no cruelty and little guilt inhering in it, but that the sin lies in the course of those radical men who do not cease on the authority of God's word, to proclaim Slavery and slaveholding as sin and only sin continually. I wish with all my heart that I could come to England, but it is not possible just now. I cannot leave my post, if God gives me strength and the possibility to continue in it. The people of England have very little idea of the terrible extent to which the sanction of Slavery, and opposition against all agitation about it as a sin, have got possession of the churches, so that revivals of religion and the revival of the slave-trade can go together without any quarrel; or if there be any outcry against the foreign slave-trade, there is an equally earnest outcry, and much more bitter, against those who denounce the domestic slave-trade and American Slavery. Of a truth we are in a dreadful state, and I do not see any possible avoiding of the wrath of God, nor any escape from ruin, except by His Word and Spirit—His Word proclaimed against this reigning guilt, and His Spirit accompanying the proclamation. Pardon this long letter. Be assured whatever aid you may be able to gain for us, or whatever help you can extend to Miss Johnstone in getting aid, is truly and greatly needed, and will be most thankfully received. I am about publishing a new work on the guilt of Slavery, and the crime of slaveholding, demonstrated by the Old and New Testament Scriptures; and such is the unpopularity of the subject that my

publishers will not issue it. I'm obliged to publish by subscription, on my own responsibility.

"I remain, my dear Sir,

"With great respect and regard,

"Truly yours,

"GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

"Rev. Dr. CANDLISH."

### SLAVERY AND THE OPIUM TRADE.

THE *Edinburgh Anti-Opium Committee* have recently issued a statement of facts relating to the trade in opium, to which it is important public attention should be directed. We consider it our duty to promote its circulation, believing that opium is made a means of ensnaring many a Chinese into a contract which results in consigning him to Slavery. Indeed there is no lack of evidence to shew that the opium-smoking dens of Hong Kong, Amoy, Swatow, and other places in China, are the constant resort of kidnappers, who first stupefy their victim with this pernicious drug, and then convey him to the baracoon, where he remains until an opportunity presents itself of shipping him off to Cuba, ostensibly as a free-labourer under contract of service; really as a slave, never to return. Apart from other reasons for condemning the traffic, but which, however cogent, do not come within our province to comment upon in these pages, the special objections we entertain against it bear directly upon questions daily claiming our active efforts, and we therefore deem it of interest to our readers to submit to them the gist of the *Edinburgh Anti-Opium Committee's* Circular.

For convenience sake, we have been obliged to omit the evidence upon which the following statement is founded. We may say, however, that it is chiefly official, and the witnesses are of the highest authority. A similar reason prevents us from inserting the powerful appeal to the public, appended to the circular, and signed by twenty-five of the most respectable and influential gentlemen in Edinburgh, the purport of which is to urge every one to promote the prohibition of the traffic in opium, by petitions to Parliament and other lawful means.

#### OPIUM TRADE.

"1. An immense importation of opium—prepared expressly for the purpose of gratifying a vicious taste by smoking it—is annually made into China from ports in British India. This importation has increased *forty-fold* since the beginning of the century, or from 2000 to 80,000 chests. The demand for this article has been created by shipments originally made by the East-India Company in 1735, and, since 1800, chiefly by British merchants, who have succeeded in extending it, by experimental importations, from time to time, into new parts of the coast—at first of a losing character, but profitable in the end, by creating a taste for the new vice. Opium now

forms the great bulk of the returns for Chinese tea and silk, amounting, as it does, to 8,000,000*l.*, while the export of all British produce and manufactures to China averages little more than 2,000,000*l.*

"2. The use of this opium, so prepared, is productive of the most ruinous consequences to the population where it is consumed. These consequences are carefully to be distinguished from those which result from the abuse of alcoholic beverages—melancholy as the latter are—the former being, in the long run, the rule, not the exception, and the result of the use, not the abuse, of the indulgence. 'The usual demoralizing influences of the opium trade' are thus not merely incidental to it, but, in the language of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 'are incontestable, and INSEPARABLE from its existence.'

"3. According to the most unexceptionable testimony of merchants, travellers, physicians, Government servants, Missionaries, and Chinese statesmen, the vice, the misery, and even the destruction of life, resulting from this indulgence, it is almost impossible to estimate. 'The moderate use' of opium as it is prepared for the Chinese, which some suppose to be so harmless, tends to the practice of sensuality in its grossest forms. 'Moderation' leads, with fearful certainty and speed, to 'excess'; and excess to every crime of which its victim is capable, until his career is ended in a premature grave. The numbers thus cut off are variously estimated; but although it is only along the sea-board that the practice prevails greatly as yet, the lowest calculation exhibits an amount of mortality which it is fearful to contemplate.

"4. Public sentiment in China is strongly opposed to this trade. On this account it is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of Chinese Missions. Our countrymen there are known only as vendors of opium—the curse of China—or as preachers of Christianity. The Imperial Government set itself against the trade for more than sixty years, and declared it contraband. It was, however, utterly unable to contend with the heavily-armed vessels in which the opium is carried; but in 1839, after repeated warnings to the English residents (the last being addressed to them individually) to send away their opium then in Chinese waters, a special commission from Peking caused the owners to be confined within their own dwellings until they surrendered the entire quantity, amounting to 20,283 chests. He then destroyed the whole, valued at between one and two millions sterling, and took such measures as rendered it almost impossible to dispose of a chest along the coast.

"5. The British Government thereupon declared war against China; and after the slaughter of nearly 40,000 of its subjects, dictated a treaty by which the Chinese were compelled to pay more than 4,000,000*l.* for the opium destroyed, and for the expenses of the war, and also to give up the island of Hong Kong on their coast. The English merchants had previously signed a pledge to discontinue the trade, and the British Government entered into a supplementary treaty, by which they bound themselves to discontinue all smuggling for the future.



"6. Instead of these engagements being kept, the merchants (with, it is said, two exceptions) immediately resumed the trade. After a time, the British Government also allowed the island ceded to them for the purpose 'of careening and refitting ships, and keeping stores there for that purpose, to be used for warehousing the contraband opium; and the annual import into China has risen since that war from less than 40,000 to 80,000 chests.

"7. During the continuance of peace, the British Government importuned the Chinese Emperor to legalize the opium trade, but always without success. He refused again and again, alleging that 'nothing should induce him to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of his people;' but a second war having broken out, they have now dictated a new treaty, by which their former obligation to discourage smuggling is abrogated, and the Chinese have been forced to legalize the trade, with every prospect of its indefinite extension among their vast population of 400,000,000—more than a third of the human race. The great rise which immediately took place in the price of opium in Calcutta shews what ground there is for this apprehension.

#### OPIUM REVENUE.

"8. By far the greater part of the opium imported into China is prepared by the British Government in India, expressly with that view. It is manufactured ACCORDING TO SAMPLES OBTAINED FROM CHINA OF THAT PREPARATION OF THE DRUG MOST IN DEMAND AMONG THE INFATUATED VICTIMS OF THE DEMORALIZING INDULGENCE before described. It has all along been packed according to Chinese weights, even during the subsistence of the treaty binding this country to discourage smuggling into China, and it is disposed of by public sale now in the name of Her Majesty, the profits arising from it forming a large part of the INDIAN REVENUE.

"9. Within the Presidency of Bengal the Government exercise a strict monopoly in the growth of the poppy. This is enforced by regulations often made instrumental of great oppression in the hands of the corrupt native officials. The money requisite for the cultivation is advanced by Government, and an ever-increasing extent of the richest land is annually devoted to that purpose, at the cost of the proportionally diminished growth of the useful products of the soil of India, such as sugar, indigo, &c. Thus, notwithstanding the remonstrances of some of the ablest of the Chairmen, Directors, and members of the service, the East-India Company have extended the cultivation to districts where it was before unknown, and have derived an additional revenue from farming out the home sale of this article, while they themselves, in their own 'Memorandum of Improvements in their Administration,' (presented to Parliament, 1858), call the consumption of opium 'a hurtful indulgence, from which India itself has hitherto been comparatively free.'

"10. According to the testimony of competent and unprejudiced witnesses, the demoralization which is proved to be inseparable from the trade in China, attends the cultivation in India. A

Government officer in that department declares that 'one opium cultivator demoralizes a village;' another, that in Assam, where the cultivation is free, 'it is depopulating the country, and degrading one of the finest races' of that peninsula 'into one of the most abject and depraved.'

"11. In the North-Western Provinces, and in Scinde, the culture of the poppy is prohibited: in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay it is virtually so; and (as in the case of the prohibition of the growth of tobacco in the United Kingdom) this prohibition is easily enforced, the plant being extremely conspicuous, and requiring to be four months on the ground.

"12. The remainder of the opium shipped from India to China is the produce of native independent States, but it can be shipped only from British ports, where the British Government have no difficulty in levying any amount of transit duty they choose to impose, there being no other route by which it can pass.

"From these two facts last mentioned, it is evident, that whenever the Legislature wills it, the CULTURE AND MANUFACTURE OF OPIUM IN INDIA CAN BE EFFECTUALLY BROUGHT TO AN END.

"That this would at first entail a serious loss to the Indian revenue is admitted; but the Committee believe that, by wisely developing the great resources of India; by employing the large capital, which Government has now embarked in the manufacture of opium, in works of public utility, yielding a good return; and by an improved system of taxation, reaching the more wealthy classes; the loss would be only temporary, and the new sources of revenue prove much more secure than the precarious and dishonourable opium manufacture.

"In name of the Committee,

"G. D. CULLEN, *Chairman*.

"D. DAVIDSON, *Vice-Chairman*.

"DAVID M'LAREN, *Hon. Sec.*

"Edinburgh, 7th April 1859."

#### FREDERIC DOUGLASS.

It has been rumoured that Frederic Douglass is seriously implicated in the Harper's Ferry affair. We do not know whether the report has any foundation in truth, though Mr. Douglass acknowledges he is in favour of a movement, "if not by ballot, then by bullet," to obtain the liberation of the slaves in America. He is probably at this time approaching our shores, for, at the date of our last advices from the Atlantic side, he had issued an address to his friends, in which he announced his intention of leaving for England almost immediately, in fulfilment of a long-standing engagement to deliver a course of lectures here. We learn that he had scarcely quitted his residence before the United-States' officers visited it to apprehend him, on a charge of treason and conspiracy. He had, however, succeeded in evading pursuit.

Under these circumstances, the subjoined extract from a letter written by a female member of the Society of Friends in Rochester, United States, to Mrs. Julia Crofts (late Miss Julia Griffiths), will be read with deep interest.

"We have had a season of excitement here. You may be sure the attempt to take from our midst Frederick Douglass roused even the indifferent people to *think*, and excited a general feeling of indignation. It was before this feeling had died away that Dr. Cheever came, by invitation of our *Anti-Slavery Society*, to give a series of discourses on the *sin* of Slavery. It would have done your heart good to have seen Corinthian Hall filled, evening after evening, and by people, too, whom we had not classed as anti-slavery, but who were all, more or less, imbued with the spirit by Dr. Cheever's most fearless and faithful setting forth of the truth. I believe it is with one accord pronounced the most successful effort we have ever made in that direction. *The whole city has been set to thinking.* We tried to secure a pulpit for the Sunday evening, but in vain. With our five audiences, and their chained attention, we felt as if there was little cause to lament this failure, except as an indication of the anti-slavery pulse in the churches themselves.

"I am glad that Frederick Douglass is so soon to be among old friends and true, where no one can make him afraid.

"'Poor old Captain Brown!' Many in the land can respond to the title Douglass gives him, in an article in his last paper, 'Dear old Brown!' His attempt—mad though it seemed—had so much of nobility in it—the old man had been so eminently heroic in his long conflict with the slave-power—that his name and memory must be dear to all who love the cause of freedom."

### THE FREE PRESS IN THE SLAVE STATES.

No phase of the growth of Republicanism is more significant than the establishment of newspapers advocating free principles in the Slave States. A few years since, any such attempt to exercise the right of free speech was sure to be met with violence. Even now it is only conceded in a few localities, and in these only after a struggle. Nevertheless, the number and influence of these journals is steadily increasing, and they are gradually paving the way for that revolution of public sentiment which must sooner or later come in the South, as it has in the North. There are now ten Republican journals printed in the Slave States (in English), besides eight more in the German language, making eighteen in all, as follows:

The Missouri Democrat,	St. Louis, Missouri.
The Free Democrat,	St. Joseph, do.
The Sentinel,	Kansas City, do.
The Free South,	Newport, Ky.
The Intelligencer,	Wheeling, Virginia.

The Wellsburg Herald,	Wellsburgh, do.
The Ceredo Crescent,	Ceredo, do.
The National Era,	Washington, D. C.
The Republic,	do. do.
The News and Advertiser,	Milford, Delaware,

#### German.

Der Anzeiger des Westens,	St. Louis,	Mo.
Die Westliche Post,	do.	do.
Das Hermann Wochenblatt,	Hermann,	do.
Der St. Charles Demokrat,	St. Charles.	do.
Die Deutsche Zeitung,	St. Joseph,	do.
Die Missouri Post,	Kansas city,	do.
Der Louisville Anzeiger,	Louisville, Ky.	
Der Baltimore Weeker,	Baltimore, Md.	

#### Albany Journal.

This list is incomplete. There are several other papers in the South, friendly to freedom. The *Central Christian Advocate*, in St. Louis, is one of the ablest and most efficient anti-slavery papers in the country. The *Bulletin*, of the same city, is decidedly free-soilish in tone. So are the *Intelligencer* and *News*. If we are not misinformed, there are two free-soil newspapers in Western Virginia, not mentioned on this list, and one or two more in Missouri. There are in Delaware, also, two or three free-soil newspapers; and in the whole South, the number of such journals is nearer thirty than eighteen.

### Advertisements.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

THE *Halifax Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society* purpose holding a bazaar in February 1860, to which they would most earnestly invite the aid of all those kindred Societies and friends who sympathize in the anti-slavery cause. The proceeds of this bazaar will be devoted to two objects—the support of the anti-slavery paper edited by *Frederick Douglass*, which is the organ of the free coloured people, and the advocate of the enslaved in the United States, and the aid of fugitives escaping from bondage.

Any portion of the contributions which are not sold at Halifax will be forwarded to the *Rochester Anti-Slavery Society* for sale in America, so that contributors need not fear that the articles they may send will be sacrificed for the sake of immediate sale, as is so often the fate of elegant things at bazaars.

Frederick Douglass, the gifted editor of the paper which bears his name, is expected to visit Great Britain in the coming winter. If, as is hoped, his presence can be secured at the bazaar in Halifax, it will greatly add to the interest of the occasion. We may well hope that the effect of his proposed lecture in this country will be to stimulate the energy

and increase the efficiency of existing Societies, and to lead to the formation of many new ones. The time is not passed in which the strong protest of English friends against the odious system of American Slavery is needed, and their substantial aid to the efforts of the abolitionists in the United States is still an important means of holding up their hands in the unceasing conflict they are waging with Slavery. The recent daring and successful attempts to re-open the slave-trade in America, even in opposition to the law of the country, shews how rampant the slave-power still is, and how urgent is the need of continued and increased vigilance on the part of the friends of the slave to check and repress its encroachments.

The following are the names of those who will receive contributions for the bazaar, which should be sent to HALIFAX not later than the 1st February 1860, addressed to—

	Mrs. HARGREAVES, Lord Street ;
	Mrs. CARPENTER, Milton Place ;
	Mrs. CROFTS, North Parade.
Aberdeen . . .	The Misses Watson, 3 Rotunda Place
Arbroath . . .	Mrs. Sandison
Barnsley . . .	Mrs. Richardson, Dodworth Mount
Beckenham, Kent,	Rev. Dr. Marsh (pecuniary contributions only)
Belfast . . .	Miss H. Hincks, Murray Ter.
Berwick-on-Tweed	d, Miss Cairn, Wellington Ter.
Birkenhead . . .	Mrs. J. B. Cooke, Shrewsbury Road
Birmingham . .	Mrs. Goodrick, 11 George Street, Edgbaston
Ditto . . .	Mrs. Middlemore, Edgbaston
Bradford . . .	Mrs. Russell, 12 Melbourne Pl.
Ditto . . .	Mrs. Lythall
Ditto . . .	Miss M. A. Snowden, 12 Melbourne Place
Brechin . . .	Mrs. Lamb, the Latch
Bridge of Allen .	Mrs. Blair, Viewfield
Bridgwater . . .	Mrs. A. King, Dampiet St.
Bristol . . .	Miss Carpenter, Red Lodge Ho.
Ditto . . .	Miss Fox, 13 Cotham New Rd.
Brighton . . .	Miss Faulkner, Alpha House, Lansdowne Road
Chelmsford . . .	Mrs. J. Chandler
Cork . . .	The Misses Jennings
County of Donegal,	Mrs. Young, Culdaff House, Carndonagh
Coventry . . .	Miss Cash, Sherbourne Ho.
Derby . . .	Mrs. Steer
Ditto . . .	Miss Hutton
Doncaster . . .	Mrs. Tyte
Dublin . . .	Mrs. Studdert, Rathgar Mansion, Rathmines
Ditto . . .	Mr. W. Webb, 8 Dunville Avenue, Rathmines
Dundee . . .	Mrs. Borwick, Bell Street
Edinburgh . . .	Mrs. Horsburgh, 18 Buccleugh Place
Ditto . . .	Miss Carpenter, 7 Buccleugh Place
Ditto . . .	Miss Sturrock, 6 Queen's Place, Leith Walk

Evesham . . .	Miss Davis, Almswood
Falkirk . . .	Miss Wilson, Brockville Ho.
Glasgow . . .	Mrs. Robson, 2 Queen's Crescent
Ditto . . .	Miss Smith, 62 Kelvin Grove Street
Huddersfield . .	Mrs. J. W. Learoyd, 32 New North Road
Ditto . . .	Miss Rhodes, Folly Hall
Lancaster . . .	Mrs. Barton Worthington
Leeds . . .	Mrs. Thomas Harvey
Leicester . . .	Miss Hannah Burgess
Liverpool . . .	Mrs. Cropper, Dingle Bank
Ditto . . .	Mrs. J. Robberds, High Pk. St.
Ditto . . .	Mrs. Cearn, Rodney Street
London . . .	Mrs. H. B. Ingram, 4 Percy Square, Pentonville
Ditto . . .	Mrs. Colin R. Roberts, 1 Chesterfield St., Pentonville
Ditto . . .	Mrs. Griffiths, 3 Queen's Ter., Haverstock Hill
Ditto . . .	Mrs. M. Bowden, 53 Gracechurch Street (Free Labour Dépôt)
Ditto . . .	British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Office, 27 New Broad Street
Manchester . . .	Mrs. Morris, 211 York St., Cheetham Hill Road
Mansfield . . .	Miss M. Adlington, King's Mills
Merthyr . . .	Miss Howell, George Town
Montrose . . .	Mrs. Lawrence
Ditto . . .	Mrs. R. Barclay
Newcastle-on-Tyne,	Miss Pringle
Rotherham . . .	Miss Robinson, 6 Wellgate
Sheffield . . .	Mrs. Rawson, Wincobank
Ditto . . .	Mrs. Yeomans
St. Ives, Hunting-	ingdonshire } Mrs. Pott Brown
Taunton . . .	Mrs. Blake, Bishop's Hall
Todmorden . . .	Mrs. Stephenson
Wakefield . . .	Miss Smith, Graham's Ter.
Ditto . . .	Miss Dawson
Warrington . . .	Mrs. R. Gaskell, Penketh
Waterford . . .	Mrs. J. J. Strangman.

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\* \* A considerable portion of the edition being disposed of, early orders are requested, either through the Booksellers, or

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## DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS, 1859.

WE beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following sums for the current year. Should any error or omission appear, we shall feel obliged by having our attention directed to it.

Donations.			Ann. Sub.			Donations.			Ann. Sub.		
£ s. d.			£ s. d.			£ s. d.			£ s. d.		
Aked, Thomas, <i>Bradford</i>			1	0	0	Crowley, A., <i>Alton</i>			1	0	0
Allen, Mrs. E., <i>Liskeard</i>			1	0	0	Cruickshank, Edward, <i>Edinburgh</i>			0	5	0
Allen, Richard, <i>Dublin</i>			1	0	0	Cooper, Joseph . (2 years)			2	2	0
Allen, late John, <i>Liskeard</i> , (Legacy.)	10	0	0			Curtis, Wm., <i>Alton</i>			0	10	0
Allen, W., <i>Stoke Newington</i>			1	0	0	Darby, Mrs. Lucy, <i>Coalbrookdale</i>			1	1	0
Alexander, Miss S.A., <i>Reigate</i>			1	1	0	Darby, Mrs. Hannah, <i>ditto</i>			1	1	0
Alexander, Miss M. B., <i>ditto</i>			1	1	0	Darby, Richard, <i>ditto</i>			1	1	0
Alexander, J. B., <i>Ipswich</i>			1	0	0	Darby, Mrs. Rebecca, <i>ditto</i>			1	1	0
Alexander, F., <i>Woodbridge</i>			0	10	0	Dent, William, <i>Marr</i>			1	1	0
Alexander, Mrs., <i>ditto</i>			0	10	0	Dickenson, Henry, <i>Coalbrookdale</i>			1	1	0
Alsop, R., <i>Stoke Newington</i>			1	1	0	Dickenson, Rev. W. W., <i>Playford</i>			1	1	0
Baker, G., <i>Birmingham</i>			0	10	0	Doyle, James, <i>Downham</i>			0	10	0
Ball, William, <i>Tottenham</i>			2	2	0	Dunlop, John, <i>Edinburgh</i>			1	1	0
Banbury Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	5	5	0			Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	2	0	0		
Bassett, J. D., <i>Leighton Buzzard</i>			1	1	0	Dymond, John, <i>Exeter</i>			0	10	0
Beaumont, Wm., <i>Newcastle</i>			2	2	0	Edinburgh New Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	1	0	0		
Beaumont, John, <i>Uford</i>			1	0	0	Elliott, John, <i>Liskeard</i>			0	10	0
Bell, James, <i>London</i>			1	1	0	Elliott, Mary, <i>ditto</i>			0	5	0
Bell, Sarah, <i>Alton</i>			0	10	0	Ellis, John, <i>Leicester</i>	2	0	0		
Bell, Elizabeth, <i>ditto</i>			0	10	0	Epps, Dr., <i>London</i>			1	0	0
Bewley, Samuel, <i>Dublin</i> , (for 1859 and 1860.)			2	0	0	Evans, Mary, & Sister, <i>Birmingham</i>			1	0	0
Bewley, Henry, <i>ditto</i>			1	0	0	Evesham Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	1	0	0		
Binns, Thomas, <i>Tottenham</i>			1	1	0	Exeter, Collection at, per R. Hutchinson	0	10	0		
Birmingham & Wednesbury Ladies' Negro's Friend Society	22	0	0			Exeter Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	1	10	0		
Blake, Joseph, <i>Harrow</i>			1	1	0	Falmouth Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	1	1	0		
Bottomley, J., <i>Birmingham</i>			1	0	0	Fawcus, Mrs. M., <i>N. Shields</i>			0	10	0
Bottomley, G., <i>Bradford</i>			0	10	0	Finlay, James, <i>Harrow</i>			0	10	0
Boys, Jacob, <i>Brighton</i>			1	1	0	Fisher, Abraham, <i>Youghal</i>			0	5	0
Bransby, Newton, <i>Alton</i>			1	0	0	Fisher, P. M., <i>ditto</i>			0	5	0
Brewin, Edward, <i>Leicester</i>			1	0	0	Fitzgerald, John, <i>Woodbridge</i>			2	0	0
Brown, Henry, <i>Youghal</i>			0	2	6	Fletcher, Dr. Caleb, <i>York</i>			1	0	0
Brown, Francis, <i>Brighton</i>			1	1	0	Foster, Mr. S. J. T., <i>Stamford Hill</i>			0	10	0
Bowley, Samuel, <i>Horsepools</i>			0	10	6	Forster, W. E., <i>Olley</i>			1	0	0
Bowman, Henry, <i>Bakewell</i>			1	1	0	Forster, Robert, <i>Tottenham</i>			1	1	0
Buxton, C., M.P., <i>London</i>			5	5	0	Forster, Josiah, <i>Tottenham</i>			3	3	0
Cadbury, R. T., <i>Birmingham</i>			1	0	0	Forth, Robert, <i>North Shields</i>			0	5	0
Cadbury, B. H., <i>ditto</i>			0	10	0	Foster, R., <i>ditto</i>			0	5	0
Cadbury, John, <i>ditto</i>			1	0	0	Fothergill, Miss M., <i>Torquay</i>			2	0	0
Candler, John, <i>Chelmsford</i>			0	10	0	Fowler, Mrs. L., <i>Tottenham</i>			1	1	0
Cash, Samuel, <i>Peckham</i>			1	0	0	Fox, Samuel, <i>Tottenham</i>			1	0	0
Catchpool, Thomas, <i>Colchester</i>			2	0	0	Geades, Edward, <i>Liskeard</i>			0	5	0
Charlton, Robert, <i>Bristol</i>			1	1	0	Gibbins, J., <i>Birmingham</i>			1	0	0
Charlton, Elizabeth, <i>ditto</i>			1	1	0	Glyde, Mrs., <i>Exeter</i>			1	0	0
Cirencester Anti-Slavery Society	5	0	0			Graham, Mrs., <i>Coalbrookdale</i>			1	1	0
Chelmsford Ladies, <i>Negro's Friend Society</i> , per Mrs. J. M. Marriage	2	0	0			Gundry, Sarah, <i>Calne</i>			1	0	0
Clark, Alderman, <i>Southampton</i>			0	10	6	Hack, D. P., <i>Brighton</i>	2	0	0		
Crabb, J. R., <i>Southampton</i>			0	5	0						
Cropper, James, <i>Kendal</i>			1	0	0						
Cross, Martha, <i>Colchester</i>			0	10	0						
Crouch, E. A., <i>Liskeard</i>			0	10	0						

Donations.			Ann. Sub.			Donations.			Ann. Sub.		
£ s. d.			£ s. d.			£ s. d.			£ s. d.		
Harris, Sarah, <i>Bradford</i>			0	10	0	Peek, James, <i>London</i>			1	1	0
Harris, Henry, <i>ditto</i>			1	0	0	Pim, Jonathan, <i>Dublin</i>			1	0	0
Harris, Alfred, <i>ditto</i>			1	0	0	Priestman, John., <i>Bradford</i>			1	0	0
Harris, Jane, <i>ditto</i>			0	10	0	Proctor, J. R., <i>ditto</i>			0	10	0
Harris, Lydia, <i>Southwark</i>			0	10	0	Proctor, Joseph, <i>Tynemouth</i> ,			1	0	0
Harvey, Thomas, <i>Youghal</i>			0	5	0	Proud, Miss Eliza, <i>Lewes</i>			0	10	0
<i>Helston Ladies' Anti-Slavery</i>						Pow, Robert, <i>North Shields</i>			1	0	0
<i>Society.</i>			1	0	11	Randal, E. M., <i>Southampton</i> ,			0	5	0
Hicks, C., <i>Stanstead</i>			0	12	0	Richardson, Mrs., <i>N. Shields</i> ,			0	10	6
Holmes, William, <i>Alton</i>			0	10	0	Richardson, Mrs. H., <i>ditto</i> ,			0	5	0
Hopkins, Mrs. J., <i>Spalding</i>			0	10	0	Richardson, W., <i>Sunderland</i> ,			1	1	0
Horsnail, C., <i>Strood</i>			0	10	0	Rose, Mrs. Ann, <i>Coalbrook-</i>					
Horsnail, C., <i>Canterbury</i>			0	10	0	<i>dale</i>			0	10	6
Hunt, Henry, <i>Bristol</i>			1	0	0	Rowntree, Joseph, <i>York</i>			1	1	0
Isaac, J. C., <i>Liskeard</i>			0	5	0	Scarr, Mrs. Hannah, <i>York</i>			0	5	0
<i>Jamaica: Collection at Brown's</i>						<i>Saffron Walden Ladies'</i>					
<i>Town, by Rev. J. Clark</i>	3	0	0			<i>Anti-Slavery Association</i>	9	12	0		
<i>Collection at Spanish</i>						Seekings, J. R., <i>Birmingham</i>			1	0	0
<i>Town, by Rev. J. M.</i>						Shields, William, <i>Lanchester</i> ,	0	12	0		
<i>Phillippo</i>	6	0	6			Shorthouse, Rebecca, <i>Bir-</i>					
<i>Jamaica, Savana: Collection</i>						<i>mingham</i>			1	0	0
<i>per the Rev. A. Duckett</i>	1	10	0			Silver, Miss, <i>Woodbridge</i>			0	5	0
Janson, William, <i>Tottenham</i> ,			2	2	0	Smith's Church, <i>Demerara</i> ,					
Jessup, James, <i>Sudbury</i>			9	10	0	<i>per Rev. E. A. Wall-</i>					
Jones, Mrs. Mary, <i>Coal-</i>						<i>bridge</i>	1	16	4		
<i>brookdale</i>			1	1	0	Snowden, Ann, <i>Bradford</i>			0	10	0
Jowitt, Benjamin, <i>Carlton</i>			1	1	0	Soper, J., <i>Southwark</i>			0	5	0
Kenway, G. B., <i>Birmingham</i>			1	0	0	Southall, T., <i>Birmingham</i>			1	2	0
King, Samuel, <i>ditto</i>			0	16	0	Southall, William, <i>ditto</i>			1	0	0
King, Henry, <i>Rochdale</i>			3	0	0	Spence, J. F. & J., <i>N. Shields</i>			0	10	0
Kinsman, Miss J. G., <i>De-</i>						Spence, Joseph, <i>York</i>			1	1	0
<i>vonport</i>			0	10	0	Squire, J. H., <i>Amwell</i>			1	1	0
Knight, Henry, <i>Swansea</i>			0	10	0	Stansfield, J., <i>Bradford</i>			0	5	0
Knott, Thomas, <i>Exeter</i>			0	5	0	Stephenson, Ann, <i>Ipswich</i>			2	0	0
Letchworth, Thomas, <i>Exeter</i>			0	10	0	Sterry, Henry, <i>London</i>			3	3	0
Lindley, Caroline, <i>Southwark</i> ,			0	5	0	Sterry, Mrs. D., <i>Hertford</i>			1	1	0
Linstant, Baron de Pradine,						Sterry, J., <i>Peckham</i>			1	1	0
<i>London</i>			1	1	0	Stuart, Capt. C., <i>Canada</i>			1	1	0
<i>Liskeard Ladies' Anti-</i>						Sturge, Joseph, <i>Birmingham</i> ,			5	5	0
<i>Slavery Association</i>	3	0	0			Sturge, Charles, <i>ditto</i>			2	0	0
Lloyd, Samuel, <i>Birmingham</i>			1	0	0	Sturge, Edmund, <i>ditto</i>			1	1	0
Marshall, Samuel, <i>Kendal</i>			0	10	0	Tatum, Mrs., <i>Rochester</i>			1	0	0
Masters, H. W., <i>London</i>			1	1	0	Tatham, Mary Ann., <i>Leeds</i> ,			1	0	0
Moore, Mrs. E., <i>Woodbridge</i>			0	10	0	Thompson, S., <i>Fordingbridge</i>			1	1	0
Morland, J., <i>Croydon</i>			2	2	0	Toll, Miss L., <i>Woodbridge</i>			0	5	0
Newman, W. H., <i>Southampton</i>			0	5	0	Tuckett, P. D., <i>Frenchay</i>			1	0	0
Norris, W., <i>Coalbrookdale</i>			0	5	0	Tuke, Mrs., <i>Rigate</i>			0	10	0
Norris, W. G., <i>ditto</i>			0	5	0	Veale, J. E., <i>St. Austle</i>			0	10	0
Norton, W., <i>Woodbridge</i>			0	10	0	Veale, Richard, <i>ditto</i>			0	1	0
Norton, Mrs., <i>ditto</i>			0	10	0	Viner, Miss Mary, <i>Bath</i>			1	0	0
Norton, Thomas, <i>Southwark</i> ,			0	10	0	Webster, Rev. G. E., <i>Gun-</i>					
Norton, Caroline, <i>ditto</i>			0	10	0	<i>disburgh</i>			0	10	0
Ogilvie, J., <i>North Shields</i>			0	2	6	W. H. A., of <i>Barbados</i>	1	1	0		
Palk, Alderman, <i>Southampton</i>			0	10	6	Williams, Dr., <i>York</i>			1	1	0
Pease, Thomas, <i>Bristol</i>			0	10	6	Young, Mrs. M., <i>N. Shields</i>			0	5	0
Pease, John., <i>Dartington</i>			1	0	0	Zachary, Thomas, Esq., <i>Stour-</i>					
Pease, J. B., <i>ditto</i>			1	0	0	<i>port</i>			1	1	0
Peile, George, <i>Whitehaven</i>			1	1	0	Zachary, Daniel, <i>Stourport</i>			1	1	0







